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「新富雇主、跨國移工、認同政治」

New-Rich Employers, Migrant Workers, and Identity Politics

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一、中文摘要：

家務僱用關係弔詭地結合兩個特點，一是工作空間的私密性，二是社會資源的不對稱。勞雇雙方在生活上的親近可能導致社會區隔的混淆與曖昧，因而突顯畫界工作之日常儀式的必要性。僱用家務移工的家庭，因而成為探索台灣在引進外勞後的認同政治的重要研究場域。本研究針對三個不同面向的社會界線：階級、種族/國籍以及與性別相關的社會身分，來探討其中以區辨他者/他群(Other/them) 來指認自我/我群 (self/us)的認同政治。透過這些「新富雇主」的經驗與認同，呈現出台灣社會階級形構的重要切面、性別關係與家庭型態的轉變，以及隨著跨國接觸的增加，更為複雜的族群認同。

關鍵字: 外籍勞工、家務僱用、社會界線、認同政治

二、計畫緣由與目的

本計畫企圖擴展並整合主持人這幾年來進行的有關僱用外籍家務勞工的系列研究，我已經與 Duke University Press 簽約出版一本專書，來全面探討在引進外籍勞工十餘年後，台灣社會在認同政治上的影響與變化。本研究在理論對話與分析層次上，一方面，參與移工、全球化的文獻中的辯論，強調全球化的在地影響，結合巨觀/結構的移民過程的分析以及微觀/互動層次的認同政治的重要性。另一方面，結合文化社會學界有關社會界線、畫界工作的討論，來觀察台灣社會的文化分類、人群關係，在跨國接觸的互動過程中所產生的重構變化。

三、初步發現與討論

Kandiyoti(1991) 使用「與父權討價還價」(bargaining with patriarchy) 的字眼來形容當女人面對具有特定遊戲規則的多樣父權箝制時，如何發展不同的策略來保障她們的生存、擴張她們的利益。這樣的比喻頗為適切地描述中上階級的台灣女性如何僱用家務幫手來轉移她們的家務負擔，以及協商父權意識形態所賦予母親、妻子和媳婦的女性角色與責任。本研究透過深入訪談，探索台灣女性雇主在僱用外籍家務勞工的決策過程中衡量折衷哪些不同的考量，從資料中我們歸納出僱用外籍家務勞工有三個主要的目的：--

職場工作的母親雇用服從的外籍勞工來扮演居家母職的代理人，現代媳婦購買廉價的勞動力來擔任婆婆的孝親看護，家庭主婦與頭家娘差遣全天候的服務來維護一個清潔有秩序的家庭。藉由雇用另一個女人作為代理人，她們得以與父權討價還價，避免在柴米油鹽的家務上與丈夫天天開打兩性戰爭、緩和她們在職場與育兒之間蠟燭兩頭燒的困境，或是減輕身為媳婦必須伺奉婆婆的孝親勞動。

在某個程度上，家務雇用的確是「把性別不平等轉化為階級不平等」(Wrigley 1995:142)。雖然台灣並沒有像新加坡、加拿大、馬來西亞等國，規定雇主所得必須超過一定標準，而是以家庭實際需要作為分配配額的指標，然而，實際上，這個政策仍然偏惠具有較多經濟資本、文化資本(如能用英文溝通)、甚至社會資本(具有人脈可以取得僱用監護工的醫師證明)的家庭。新富雇主在彰顯其階級流動的時候，藉由雇居家務幫傭成為一項 Veblen (1994[1912]) 所謂的炫耀性消費(*conspicuous consumption*)，但我們的 research 中也發現，對於缺乏長期雇用經驗、並未養成 Bourdieu (1984) 所謂的階級習性 (*habitus*) 的第一代雇主，雇用經驗同時是一個「學習」成為外傭口中的 *Sir and Madam* 的內化階級傾向(*disposition*)的過程。

然而，我們同時要注意的是，性別不平等從未因為階級不平等的取代而消失，女性雇主仍然面臨好太太、好媽媽與好媳婦的性別規範與社會壓力。從以上的討論，我們已經看到了家務僱用關係的一個重要特點：家務移工的角色其實就是作為女主人的替身，或套用 Cameron McDonald (1998) 的概念，她們做的是「影子工作 (*shadow work*)」。當這些女人雇用女性移工來外包她們的家務勞動時，不僅希望購買到順從的勞動力、廉價便利的服務，也是在尋求她們的女性角色的代理人，這往往造成移工的工作範圍難以有理性化的界定，雇主對於勞工的要求與規範也因此充斥個人化、非正式化的色彩。

照顧工作是最明顯的例子，其牽涉的不只是身體的勞動，還包括「愛的勞動」，除了例行的照顧工作，如洗澡、餵食、陪伴之外，雇主還期望他們的勞工有情緒勞動的投入，包括情感、承諾，與以及對孩子的愛。在訪談中，一些台灣母親抱怨對於外籍保母的工作表現不滿，缺乏對小孩的全心關愛，然而，雇主對於家務雇用的如此看法，往往導致對於其替身的工作內容或表現衍生不合理的期待，例如前述的頭家娘，要求雇用的家務勞工執行橫跨公私領域的工作，超出合法的工時或工作內容的規範，甚者，許多雇主會認為她們的要求並不過份，因為，她們自己過去也是這樣做。換言之，這是一種「媳婦熬成婆」的論調，不知不覺中女雇主複製了對於另外一個女人的支配與剝削關係，卻忽略了後者的勞動只是基於暫時的契約關係，而非基於情感或家庭連帶的道德義務。

當這些台灣雇主招募了另一個女人來加入他們家庭生活，對於原本的家庭關係產生了相當的影響。女雇主對於家務勞工可能影響到她們的婚姻與親子關係而感到焦慮，為了避免被另一個女人替代，她們將自己與雇工的勞動做清楚的分工，以確保妻子與女傭之間、母親與保姆之間的階層化界線，而種族差異的論述，經常在這樣的畫界工作中被進一步複製與強化。在這樣的三角關係中感到焦慮的不只是年輕的母親，還有她們的婆婆，她們曾經是全職的家庭主婦，孝順的道德牌坊不再能夠確保子孫與媳婦對她們的奉養，如今更因另一個女人的進駐而威脅到她們在家務領域中的主導角色。

除了認知到性別的權力軸線持續地支配著市場化以後的家務勞動場域，本研究也發現，性別關係的再生產與階級、國族等社會界線的建構有不可分割的締連關係。家務勞動的社會意義，植基於婚姻與母職這兩個核心父權機制，與女性認同的文化建構有著緊密的關聯；而女性特質 (femininities) 的建構是複數的，家務雇用的兩造關係裡明顯區隔出女主人(madam)和女傭(maid)的階層化女性特質。女雇主在形構自我認同的同時，也往往參與了階級、國族差異的想像與建構¹。台灣女雇主基於對先生外遇的擔憂，把外籍女傭污名化為高淫慾、低道德的原始誘惑，同時，把外籍保姆歸類為感情豐沛但文化落後的照顧者，因而沒有資格和「氣質優雅的女主人」和「道德管訓的母親」來競爭。

我們的分析也特別強調必須從行動者的日常慣行(practice)來考察社會界線的建構再生產，也就是所謂「畫界工作」(boundary work) (Lamont 2000; Nippert-Eng 1995)。女人之間的社會區隔並不因為勞雇的結構位置就穩固地存在著，在日常家庭生活中，女主人必須不斷透過具體的行動來確認與其家務勞工之間階層化的差異。她們思考評估哪些家務活動是被社會允許可以移轉給市場代理人，而不至於傷害他們在家庭中的地位；她們希望有人幫忙把家事料理好，但擔心女傭會威脅到她們的婚姻；他們希望外籍保姆可以付出愛的勞動，成為稱職的代理母親，然而又不至於取代她們在孩子心目中的主導地位。

本研究的發現對於政策具有重要的啓示。招募家務移工，是國家缺席、外勞補位的一種私有化政策，反映出我們的社會仍然把托兒及家事工作定義為女人的天職、家庭的負擔，而非社會集體分擔的公共責任。因為國家的無為而治、丈夫的袖手旁觀，讓再生產勞動成為女人與女人之間的支配與對立。跨國的勞動分工，不但沒有挑戰家務的性別

¹ 當雇用的是本地的家務勞工時，雇主同樣會進行類似的畫界工作，被建構的階層化差異則主要是階級的意涵，在特定的歷史階段則與省籍的族群分類息息相關。例如，張毓芬(1998: 56-7) 閱讀國民黨婦工會的機關刊物《婦友》月刊，發現許多外省精英家庭女主人抱怨本省幫傭說話粗俗、語言下流、笨手笨腳、喜歡看哭哭啼啼的歌仔戲。

分工，更進一步加深國內的階級不平等(中上階級家庭方得以用市場的方式購買較周全的照顧)以及國與國之間照顧品質上的差距(移工母親離開自己的孩子去照顧經濟強勢國家的孩子)。

在雙薪家庭、人口老化的趨勢下，家務與照顧勞動的商品化是不可避免的趨勢；事實上，我認為，用貨幣的方式確認再生產勞動的社會與經濟價值，是剝去「愛的勞動」的父權意識形態糖衣的重要方式之一。國家對於再生產勞動的介入，除了提供親職保險、公立的托兒護老中心，也應該透過「照顧者津貼」(caregiver allowance)等制度，來確認照顧工作的勞動價值，避免家庭照顧者的無酬剝削。除了無酬的家務勞動應被視為一個真正的工作，有酬的家務工作也亟需透過專業化、工會化、正式化、納入法令保障²等方式來具體改善其勞動條件，以及去除對這項職業的污名 (林津如 2000; Hondagneu-Sotelo 2001)。「我們把她當作家人一樣」的比喻往往造成以情感來動員移工的擬親人剝削，勞雇雙方要在相對平等的基礎上進行互動，必須經由文化與制度的改造工程，來認可家務照顧勞動作為一種工作的專業價值與理性規範。

四、計畫成果自評

本研究為兩年期的計畫，第一年的主要的成果有三部分，一是有關外勞政策的相關文獻與討論，我們收集了歷年統計資料的彙編與分析、相關外勞媒體報導，訪問勞委會官員、並多次參與勞委會與 NGO 的諮詢會議，以充分了解外勞政策的走向，並提出以研究為基礎的政策建議。同時，我們收集了其他地主國，特別是香港、新加坡的政策與雇用移工概況，以作為比較與參考之用。

第二部分是對於雇主的深入訪談。我們先透過電話續訪我在 1998-1999 年間訪問的 40 名雇主，其中揀選出同時具有雇用菲律賓籍與印尼籍家務勞工兩種經驗的個案，此外我們再透過個人網絡介紹、滾雪球的方式，增加新個案。總共訪問了 20 名。多數訪談都有錄音並由助理逐字謄錄。

第三，我們訪問了五名仲介業者，了解不同國家仲介業者的合作模式、招募勞工的收費情形，並收集仲介的宣傳廣告、雇主手冊，分析其中對於不同國籍勞工的特質描述、以及對雇主提出的管理建議。

² 家務勞動與照顧工作至今仍未納入台灣勞動基準法的保護範圍內，有些 NGO 團體正在呼籲推動訂定「家事服務法」之必要性。

這一年期間，我分析了前一年國科會研究案收集的資料，完成了一篇論文的寫作，主題是探討菲籍與印尼籍家務移工之差異建構與招募過程的比較。英文版本已經發表於 2003 年 12 月印尼德里大學的國際遷移研討會，出國經費由吳大猷研究獎支付，我也將於 2004 年 6 月在世新大學社會發展舉辦的移工研討會發表一個中文的版本。

“Maid to Order: Racialized Recruitment of Migrant Domestic Workers in Taiwan.” Presented at Women and Migration Conference, New Delhi, India.

本年度另一個出席的國外研討會，是 2004 年二月新加坡大學 Asian Meta Center 舉辦的 workshop，我發表的論文，綜合全面地討論了家務移工在台灣處境，會議中藉由與來自各國的代表深入的討論，培養對於移工政策的比較性了解，我受益良多。論文集將集結出版為專書，現正由出版社審查中。

“Surrogate Family, Disposable Labor, Stratified Others, Professional Servants: Migrant Domestic Workers in Taiwan.” International Workshop on Contemporary Perspectives on Asian Transnational Domestic Workers, National University of Singapore.

此外，根據本計畫的人力以及資源的協助，我也完成兩篇期刊論文，一篇已於 2003 年底刊登在 SSCI 期刊 *Social Problems*：

“Negotiating Social Boundaries and Private Zones: The Micropolitics of Employing Migrant Domestic Workers.” *Social Problems* 50(4): 525-549.

另一篇中文論文〈女人何苦為難女人？雇用家務移工的三角關係〉，正在被〈台灣社會學研究〉二度審查中。

未來在第二年的計畫中，我們開始對於訪談資料作深入的譯碼 (coding)、比較、分析，大部分的心力將放在專書的寫作，我將更深入地進行文獻的閱讀與對話，並補充進行官員與雇主的訪問。

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